



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

Many of our thoughtful citizens who are profoundly interested in the perpetuation of our form of government are becoming members of the association. Among these just a few may be mentioned: Former President William Howard Taft, Senator Elihu Root, the Hon. Alton B. Parker, the Hon. John W. Foster, Mr. George Harvey, of the *North American Review*; Bishop D. H. Greer, Gen. Horace Porter, and the Hon. Horace White.

It is planned to hold a meeting this fall for the per-

manent organization of the association, and to hold public meetings at which relevant subjects of interest will be discussed by prominent citizens of our country.

Further accessions to the membership and active cooperation on the part of patriotic citizens will be welcomed. Fuller information can be obtained by addressing any of the above-named officers at the headquarters of the association, 806 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C.

## PUBLIC OPINION VERSUS FORCE\*

By JAMES BROWN SCOTT

THE great campaign in which we are engaged is nothing more nor less than a campaign of education in which physical force, as such, finds no place. There is a factor other than physical force that controls mankind. It controls mankind within those small groups which we call communities; it controls mankind in those larger groups which we call nations; it will ultimately control mankind in the largest group of men and women, which we call the world. This factor is public opinion, and if the past belongs to physical force, or largely to such force, the future will belong to public opinion, or largely to public opinion. I may not cite examples of the use and abuse of force, which in the past have been too often synonymous. Suffice it to say that the world is full of the tragedies of force; that these tragedies have been written in blood, and that they have left little or nothing behind them but memories of desolation. The great empires of the East and of the ancient world have passed away. They have left little or nothing, unless it be a warning to profit by their example. Greece has gone, likewise Rome, and they, as well as their predecessors, proclaim that that which is built by force is sustained by force, and that when force is removed the fabric of empire falls, because it has nothing to sustain it. In the *Vanity of Human Wishes* Doctor Johnson sums it all up in a couple of lines, applicable alike to the abuse of force, whether by man or by nation:

He left the name at which the world grew pale,  
To point a moral or adorn a tale.

We should strive to use this great element; indeed, this greatest element—I mean, of course, public opinion—to bring about a change in the standard of conduct and to introduce into the things of the world the things of the spirit. Democracy has come into its own in our country and is coming into its own everywhere, but its voice must be the voice of reason, and the public opinion for which it stands and which it creates must be an intelligent and an enlightened public opinion, fitted to mold the future because based upon the experience of the past. It shall be, if you please, the public opinion which shall grow to be the public opinion of the State and of the nation. But it is not enough that it be the

public opinion of one nation, however enlightened and however aggressive. For the world's work it must be the public opinion of the nations composing the world; it must be an international opinion.

The founders of this Republic recognized the power of public opinion, to which they confidently appealed to justify the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitled them. The power of public opinion has outstripped even the power of the nation which it created and justified, and it is peculiarly gratifying to us Americans to find in "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind" the greatest, the controlling, and the most beneficent of international as well as of national factors. The physical force of the Old World must needs yield to the public opinion of the New.

A great deal has been said, both here and elsewhere, about the war. We think about it by day and we lie awake by night; or, if we fall asleep, many of us dream about it and its awful consequences. There is, however, a lesson of a consoling kind which we can draw from it, and that lesson, Mr. President, I should like to lay before you. The nations at war recognize that a new power has come into the world; that this power is something above every ruler, whether he be a tsar, whether he be an emperor, whether he be a king, or whether he be a president, and that this power is something beyond him, something outside of him and his country, something to which he reaches out, something of which he must possess himself in order that his quarrel may be thrice just. This power, so eagerly sought and so necessary to him, is, I beg to assure you, the public opinion of the world; not merely the public opinion of his subjects or of his fellow-citizens, but the public opinion, the enlightened public opinion, of the nations which, fortunately for themselves, have no part in this contest. Germany has published a white book, Great Britain a white paper, Russia an orange book, Belgium a gray book, France a yellow book, Austria-Hungary a red book, and Servia a blue book. Those official documents are not issued for home consumption, as their respective countries believe, wrongly or rightly, or rightly or wrongly, as you prefer, that their cause is just—I do not myself attempt to judge:

\* From an address delivered at a luncheon of the Adversity Club of Cleveland, May 13, 1915.

"Slav, Teuton, Kelt, I count them all  
My friends and brother souls"—

and their governments scatter these official statements broadcast in order that they may lay hold of this public opinion and educate and enlighten it, so that the power of public opinion, above them and beyond them, but necessary to them, may declare itself in their favor. We are over-familiar with the manifesto of the sovereign to his subjects and with his appeal to posterity as a justification for a war, generally unjust. "Die Weltgeschichte" is indeed, as the Germans put it, "das Weltgericht," which may be paraphrased, but hardly translated, as "History is the ultimate court of appeal." But we are not dealing with the public opinion of any belligerent country, but with the public opinion of neutral countries. We are not dealing with the public opinion of the future, but with the public opinion of the present day. "The old order changeth, yielding place to new." As the recognition of the power of public opinion is, I veritably believe, a discovery of the New World, so is this appeal to contemporary opinion a recognition of the fact that distance is almost as sure a judge as time. You will find it all stated in a letter, of which I am very fond, written from Paris by the venerable Doctor Franklin to the illustrious Washington, then in command of the Revolutionary Army:

More you would know and enjoy what posterity will say of Washington. For a thousand leagues have nearly the same effect with a thousand years.

A little while ago, within the memory of many now living, a great English statesman, Mr. Robert Lowe, later Viscount Sherbrooks, bitterly opposed in Parliament the Second Reform Bill, which extended the suffrage to classes which had hitherto not enjoyed its blessings. After his defeat he made the remark, or at least the remark is attributed to him, that "we must now educate our masters." It is a simple phrase, a commonplace if you will, but upon its realization depends the future. To make it what we believe it should be, we must indeed "educate our masters," and our masters are the men and women of all countries who make or mar public opinion.

The thought which I would like to leave, and in concluding I beg to emphasize by restating it, is that the power of public opinion, which has crept so noiselessly into the world as to pass almost unnoticed, has nevertheless come to stay, and that it must be educated. It must not be merely a public opinion; it must be an enlightened public opinion; and the great problem of the present, the great hope of the future, is that men of education and that men of influence shall contribute as best they may to the development of this public opinion, in order that it shall be an enlightened public opinion, and that it may be crystallized into an international opinion, which will not only make and control institutions, but which will make and control the thoughts as well as the actions of men.

## EXPLOSIVE PATRIOTISM

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

MR. HUDSON MAXIM is one of the foremost of those "patriots" who are for some reason or other gallivanting about this country urging an increase in our military and naval defenses.

"We need," says Mr. Maxim, "to upbuild our navy until it shall not be outclassed by any other navy on earth. With such a navy we should not need so large an army as we should require with a weaker navy, but we should yet require an army of moderate size. An army of 500,000 men would be one of moderate size for the United States. In addition, we should have a militia trained to arms; but if the Swiss system of military education in the common schools were introduced, we should, after a few years, lessen the need of so large a militia force" (*New York American*, July 25, 1915).

Further, "a nation's most important fortifications outside of its army and navy are shops where guns and munitions are made. . . . Victory or defeat in modern battle depends almost entirely upon preponderance of artillery fire, and this, in turn, depends upon the ability to turn out sufficient field guns and the munitions to feed them. . . . Each of the hard-won successes of the war has been a victory for high explosives" (*New York American*, July 25; *New York Times*, July 11, 1915).

All this is very interesting, and may be true. Then again it may not. In considering such questions, it is always well to know who our informant is. Is he in a position to give us unbiased, disinterested advice?

*Who's Who* for 1914-1915 says (and the account was presumably written by Mr. Maxim himself) that Mr. Maxim "took up business of ordnance and explosives 1888; was first to make smokeless powder in U. S. and first to submit samples to U. S. Government for trial; built at Maxim, N. J. (named for him), 1890, dynamite factory and smokeless powder mill; in 1897 sold smokeless powder inventions to E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., Wilmington, Del., and is now consulting engineer and expert in development department of that company. U. S. Government adopted his smokeless powder; in 1901 sold to U. S. Government formula of 'Maximite,' first high explosive to be fired through heavy armor plate; has perfected 'stabilite,' 'motorite,' 'multi-perforated powder grains,' etc., etc. His brother, who invented the Maxim gun, is a director of Vickers' Sons & Maxim, the great English makers of munitions; his nephew, inventor of the Maxim Silencer, is president of the Maxim Silent Firearms Co. and a partner of Maxim & Goodbridge.

Mr. Maxim assured the Conference on International Relations, held at Ithaca, N. Y., in June, that he was not in any way interested in the manufacture or sale of munitions, and that his "patriotic" activity was entirely disinterested. How Mr. Maxim harmonizes this with the position of consulting engineer in the Du Pont Powder Co. is a little difficult to understand. It may be that he has resigned. But in the *New York Times* for July 11 he says: "During the past week I have received